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**OILPOLITICS AND VIOLENCE IN THE NIGER DELTA OF  
NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF REGIONAL ELITE (2005-2016)**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
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**OILPOLITICS AND VIOLENCE IN THE NIGER DELTA OF NIGERIA: THE  
ROLE OF REGIONAL ELITE (2005-2016)**

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**A Thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, in  
fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy  
Universiti Utara Malaysi**



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## ABSTRAK

Perebutan minyak dan keganasan yang tercetus di rantau Delta Niger, Nigeria telah menarik perhatian para ilmuwan dan pembuat dasar dengan fokus kajian tertumpu pada faktor-faktor penyebabnya. Walau bagaimanapun, peranan golongan elit yang mencetuskan konflik ini kurang mendapat perhatian. Oleh itu, kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengisi kekosongan ini dengan mengkaji peranan yang dimainkan oleh golongan elit ini di dalam keganasan politik dan pilihan raya dan menganalisa tuntutan mereka terhadap pengawalan sumber dan penstrukturan semula politik Nigeria. Kajian ini menilai keberkesanan atau sebaliknya Program Pengampunan Presiden dan mengkaji ketelusan dan kepertanggungjawaban golongan elit di dalam pengurusan sumber. Pendekatan dalam menyelesaikan konflik ini turut dicadangkan di dalam kajian ini. Kaedah kualitatif telah digunakan di dalam kajian ini bagi mendapatkan maklumat yang mendalam mengenai peranan golongan elit di dalam konflik Delta Niger. Bagi tujuan mengumpulkan data, seramai dua belas orang telah ditemubual di dalam kajian ini dengan menggunakan teknik temubual separa berstruktur. Temubual telah dijalankan di empat buah negeri dengan menggunakan “purposive sampling” dan teknik snowballing dalam merekrut peserta. Temubual direkodkan dan kandungannya telah ditranskripsikan secara verbatim. Analisis tematik telah digunakan di dalam menganalisa data. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa golongan elit telah menyumbangkan kepada konflik tersebut bukan sahaja melalui salah urus sumber di rantau ini, tetapi juga pembiayaan, pergaulan dan menyerapan kumpulan militia ke dalam kerajaan. Mereka juga telah menerajui pengkajian semula formula pengagihan pendapatan dan mengesyorkan pengampunan untuk militan Delta Niger. Dapatan kajian juga menunjukkan bahawa syarikat minyak multinasional dan Kerajaan Persekutuan Nigeria juga telah bertanggungjawab dalam mencetuskan keganasan di rantau ini. Kedua-dua teori elit - teori kawalan sumber dan teori frustrasi-pencerobohan, bersama-sama dengan model teoretis yang dibangunkan oleh penyelidik, dapat meningkatkan pemahaman tentang konflik ini. Kajian ini mencadangkan, antara lain, penggunaan sumber secara berhemat, penyediaan kemudahan sosial, pemantauan aktiviti-aktiviti syarikat minyak, dan menghukum ahli-ahli politik yang didapati bersalah kerana menyalahgunakan golongan belia untuk menimbulkan kekacauan. Untuk mencapai keamanan di rantau ini, kajian ini memutuskan bahawa pelbagai pihak berkepentingan, terutama golongan elit, perlu memiliki kesungguhan politik dan menunjukkan komitmen terhadap pembangunan di rantau ini melalui tindakan dan bukannya hanya dengan memberi ucapan retorik.

**Kata Kunci:** Politik Minyak, Keganasan Politik, Pilihanraya, Niger Delta, Nigeria, Peranan Elit



## ABSTRACT

The scrambling for oil and the outbreak of violence in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria have attracted the attentions of scholars and policymakers, with most of the research focus on their driving factors. Nonetheless, less attention has been given on the roles played by the elites in generating this conflict. Hence, this study is intended to fill this vacuum by examining the roles of these elites in political and electoral violence and analyzing their demands for resource control and political restructuring of Nigeria. It also assesses the effectiveness or otherwise of the Presidential Amnesty Programme and examines the transparency and accountability of the elites in the management of resources. This study recommends several measures to resolve this conflict. Qualitative method is used in this study to elicit in-depth information on the elites' role in the Niger Delta conflict. Twelve interviewees took part in the study, and semi-structured interview technique was used for data gathering. Interviews were conducted in four states, with purposive sampling and snowballing techniques were employed in recruiting the participants. The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. Thematic analysis technique was used to analyze the data. The findings show that the elites have contributed to the conflict through mismanagement of the region's resources, and by financing, fraternising and co-opting militia groups into the government. They also spearheaded the upward review of the revenue allocation formula and recommended amnesty for Niger Delta militants. The research findings also demonstrate that multinational oil companies and the Nigerian Federal Government were also responsible for triggering terrorism in the region. Both elite theories - resource control and frustration-aggression theories, together with the theoretical model developed by the researcher, could enhance understanding of this conflict. This study recommends, among others, prudent use of resources, provision of social amenities, monitoring of activities of oil companies and sanctioning of politicians who are found guilty of misusing the youths to incite trouble. The study concludes that for peace to reign in the region, various stakeholders, especially the elites, should muster their political will and show commitment towards regional development through actions rather than just giving rhetorical speech.

**Key Words:** Oil Politics, Political Violence, Election, Niger Delta, Nigeria, Role of Elite



## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my late father Mustapha Adeosun and friends Mohammed Usman Fagge and Mohammed Kabir Bui. May Allah forgive them and make Jannah Firdaws their abode (Amen).



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>PERMISSION TO USE.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>CERTIFICATION .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ABSTRAK .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURE .....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Background to the Study .....	1
1.3 Statement of Problem .....	8
1.4 Research Questions .....	11
1.5 Research Objectives .....	12
1.6 Significance of the Study .....	12
1.7 Scope of Research .....	14
1.8 Definition of Terms .....	15
1.9 Research Method .....	16
1.9.1 Research Philosophy .....	17
1.9.2 Case Study .....	19
1.9.3 Data Collection .....	20
1.9.3.1 Sampling Strategy .....	21
1.9.3.2 Preparing For Interview .....	22
1.9.3.3 Conduct of the Interview .....	22
1.9.4 Data Analysis .....	24
1.9.5 Reliability and Validity .....	26
1.10 Organization of Study .....	28
1.11 Summary .....	30

<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b>	31
2.1 Introduction	31
2.1.1 Politics, Violence and Elite: An Explanation	31
2.1.2 Nigeria's Niger Delta Conflict: A General Overview of Existing Studies	36
2.2 Theoretical Framework	51
2.2.1 Elite Theory	54
2.2.2 Resource Curse	57
2.2.2.1 Natural Resource and Economic Performance	58
2.2.2.2 Natural Resources and Conflict	59
2.2.2.3 Natural Resource (Oil) and Democracy	64
2.2.3 Frustration-Aggression Theory	68
2.3 Summary	70
<b>CHAPTER THREE: EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN STATE AND NIGER DELTA CONFLICT</b>	72
3.1 Introduction	72
3.2 Nigeria: Precolonial Era	72
3.3 Nigeria: Colonial Era	75
3.4 Nigeria: Post-Colonial Era	85
3.5 Niger Delta Conflict: Evolution and Agitation	95
3.5.1 Niger Delta Avengers and the Conflict in the Niger Delta	102
3.6. Origin and Development of Oil in Nigeria	110
3.6.1 Oil and its Contributions to Nigeria Economy	116
3.7 Summary	123
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLES OF ELITE IN THE NIGER DELTA CONFLICT</b>	125
4.1 Introduction	125
4.2.1 Emergence of Niger Delta Regional Elite	130
4.3 Political Violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria	135
4.3.1 Reasons for Political Violence	136
4.3.1. 1 Elite Support for Violence	137
4.3.1.1.2 Hate Speeches	142
4.3.1.1.3 Underdevelopment	147
4.3.1.1.4 Unemployment	151
4.3.1.1.5 Nature of Politics	156
4.4 Impacts of Political Violence	160



4.4.1 Loss of lives and Property .....	160
4.4.2 Proliferation of Militia Groups .....	160
4.4.3 Arms Proliferation .....	162
4.4.4 Polarisation of the Region/Country .....	163
4.5 Reported incidences of Political-cum Electoral violence in the Niger Delta .....	165
4.6 Summary .....	172
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: RESOURCE CONTROL AND POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING.....</b>	<b>174</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	174
5.2 Resource Control .....	174
5.2.1 Types of Resource Control .....	175
5.2.1.1 Absolute Resource Control .....	175
5.2.1.2 Principal Resource Control .....	176
5.2.1.3 Increased Revenue .....	177
5.2.2 Rationale for Resource Control .....	179
5.2.2.1 Environmental Degradation .....	180
5.2.2.2 Lack of Social Amenities or Infrastructural facilities.....	186
5.3 Federalism and Federal Practice in Nigeria .....	191
5.3.1 Nigerian Federalism and its Defects.....	192
5.3.2 Fiscal Federalism .....	197
5.3.3 Revenue Allocation.....	201
5.3.3.1 Principles of Revenue Allocation.....	204
5.3.3.2.1 Spearheading the Basis and Review of Revenue Allocation Formula .....	211
5.4 Political Restructuring.....	215
5.4.1 Centralisation of Power and Hegemony by Majority Ethnic Groups .....	216
5.5 Summary .....	222
<b>CHAPTER SIX: ELITE AND THE MANAGEMENT OF OIL-WEALTH .....</b>	<b>224</b>
6.1 Introduction .....	224
6.2 Elite and Corruption in the Nigeria .....	225
6.2.1 Misuse of Oil Revenue or Income .....	228
6.2.2 Major Cases of Corruption in Nigeria: An Overview .....	229
6.2.3 Regional Elite and Corruption in the Niger Delta .....	236
6.2.3.1 Reasons for Corruption .....	237
6.2.3.1.1 Weak Institution .....	237
6.2.3.1.2 Societal Factors .....	237
6.2.3.1.3 Greediness .....	238

6.2.1.2 Transparency and Accountability .....	238
6.2.1.2.1 Underdevelopment .....	248
6.2.1.1.2 Poverty.....	257
6.2.1.3 Forms of Political Corruption among Selected Ruling Elite in the Niger Delta .....	259
6.2.1.3.1 Akwa Ibom .....	259
6.2.1.3.2 Bayelsa State .....	264
6.2.1.3.3 Delta State .....	269
6.2.1.3.4 Rivers State.....	271
6.3 Summary .....	277
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: ELITE AND THE PRESIDENTIAL AMNESTY PROGRAMME .....</b>	<b>279</b>
7.1 Introduction .....	279
7.2. Strategy of Managing the Niger Delta Conflict .....	280
7.2.1 The Military Option.....	280
7.2.1.1 Implications of the Use of Military Force.....	282
7.2.1.1.1 Escalation of Violence.....	283
7.2.1.1.2 Loss of life and Property .....	283
7.2.1.1.3 Militarisation of the Region .....	283
7.2.2 The Institutional or Developmental Agency.....	284
7.3 An Overview of Ad hoc Committees Reports on the Niger Delta Conflict.....	285
7.3.1 Sir Henry Willinks Commission.....	285
7.3.2 The Belgore Committee 1992.....	286
7.3.3 The Don Etiebet Committee 1994 .....	287
7.3.4 The Popoola Committee 1998 .....	288
7.3.5 The Ogomudia Committee 2001 .....	289
7.3.6 The Presidential Panel on National Security 2003 .....	291
7.3.7 The Niger Delta Master Plan .....	291
7.3.8 The Presidential Council on the Social and Economic Development of the Coastal States.....	293
7.3.9 The Peace and Conflict Resolution Committee.....	293
7.3.10 The Technical Committee on Niger Delta.....	295
7.4 The Presidential Amnesty Programme.....	297
7.4.1 Components and Phases of the Presidential Amnesty Programme .....	299
7.4.2 The Strengths of Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP).....	305
7.4.2.1 Educational Opportunity .....	306
7.4.2.2 Relative Peace .....	307

7.4.2.3 Increase in Oil production and Revenue .....	309
7.4.3 The Weaknesses of the Presidential Amnesty Programme .....	310
7.4.3.1 Non-inclusive nature of the Presidential Amnesty Programme and Rewarding of Militancy .....	311
7.4.3.2 Nepotism .....	315
7.4.3.3 Failure to Address the Root Causes of the Niger Delta Conflict .....	316
7.4.3.4 Poor Implementation of the Presidential Amnesty Programme.....	318
7.5 Summary .....	321
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>323</b>
8.1 Introduction .....	323
8.2 Overview, Summary and Contribution .....	323
8.2.1 Summary of Main Findings .....	327
8.2.1.1 Political –Cum Electoral Violence.....	328
8.2.1.2 Resource Control and Political Restructuring.....	328
8.2.1.3 Transparency and Accountability in the Management of Resources.....	329
8.2.1.4 Elite and Presidential Amnesty Programme .....	329
8.3 Contribution of Study .....	330
8.3.1 Theoretical Contribution.....	331
8.3.2 Methodological Contribution.....	335
8.3.3 Practical Contribution .....	335
8. 4 Recommendations of Study.....	336
8. 5 Challenges and Limitations of the Study .....	341
8.6 Suggestions for Further Research.....	342
8.7 Conclusion.....	342
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>346</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>393</b>
Appendix A: Consent Form .....	393
Appendix A : Interview Protocol .....	395
Appendix C: Ogoni Bill of Rights .....	397
Appendix D: The kaiama Declaration .....	403
Appendix E: Research Participants.....	407

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Coded list of Interviewees .....	23
Table 1.2 Phases of Thematic Analysis .....	25
Table 3.1 Phases of Conflict in the Niger Delta.....	101
Table 3.2 Timelines of Niger Delta Avengers Violence Activities in the Niger Delta. ....	104
Table 3.3 Major Landmark in Oil and Gas in Nigeria .....	111
Table 3.4 Contribution of Oil and Non-oil revenue to Total Federally Collected Revenue 1958-2015(=N=Million .....	117
Table 3.5 Oil Production in Nigeria from 1998-2016 (in 1,000 barrels per day) .....	121
Table 4.1 Unemployment Rates in States in the Niger Delta, 2002-2011 .....	153
Table 5.1 Oil Spill Incidences 2006-2015.....	185
Table 5.2 Distribution of Expenditure responsibilities among Federal, State and Local Government .....	199
Table 5.3 Nigeria's Federal State and Local Government Tax Jurisdiction and Assignment.....	201
Table 5.4 Revenue Allocation Commissions and their Recommendations .....	206
Table 5.5 Federal-State Shares of Proceeds from Distributable Pool Account/ Federation .....	209
Table 5.6 Nigerian Past and Present Leaders since 1960 .....	216
Table 6.1 Nigeria's Corruption Perception Index 2005-2016.....	227
Table 6.2 Looting of the Nigerian Treasury under the Abacha's Regime 1993 .....	232
Table 6.3 Gross Total Allocation to Geo-political Zones in Nigeria, May 2015- June 2016.....	239
Table 6.4 Total Gross Revenue from Federation for the Year 2007-2016 .....	242
Table 6.5 Domestic Debt of Nine States in the Niger Delta 2015 .....	276
Table 7.1 Structure of Presidential Amnesty Programme for Niger Delta.....	299
Table 7.2 Participants in the First Phase Presidential Amnesty Programme for Militant in the Niger Delta.....	302



## LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure.1. 1</i> Map of Nigeria .....	4
<i>Figure.1. 2</i> Map of Niger Delta .....	6
<i>Figure 2. 1</i> Actors in the Niger Delta Conflict .....	49
<i>Figure 2. 2</i> Theoretical Framework Model.....	52
<i>Figure 2. 3</i> Map of Nigeria Showing Twelve States created in 1967.....	90
<i>Figure 4. 1</i> Unemployment Rate in States in the Niger Delta .....	154
<i>Figure 6. 1</i> Pupils of Annang Primary School, Ukpom-Abak, Akwa Ibom State.....	253
<i>Figure 6. 2</i> Kolokuma/Opokuma and Mbiama sections of the East-West road in Bayelsa State .....	254
<i>Figure 6. 3</i> Deplorable Enerhen Junction Road in Warri, Delta State.....	255
<i>Figure 6. 4</i> Classrooms Girls Model School, Enwreni, Delta State. ....	255
<i>Figure 6. 5</i> A Dilapidated school in Rivers State .....	256
<i>Figure 7. 1</i> Arms and other Accessories surrendered by Militants during the First Phase of Disarmament Programme.....	301
<i>Figure 7. 2</i> Niger Delta Ex-Militants being screened during the Demobilisation Proces.....	304



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>APC</b>	All Progressive Congress
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>DDR</b>	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>EFCC</b>	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
<b>FLP</b>	First law of Petro-politics
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>HRW</b>	Human Right Watch
<b>ICG</b>	International Crisis Group
<b>INC</b>	Ijaw National Congress
<b>INEC</b>	Independent National Electoral Commission
<b>IPOB</b>	Indigenous People of Biafra
<b>IYC</b>	Ijaw Youth Congress
<b>JTF</b>	Joint Task Force
<b>MASSOB</b>	Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra
<b>MEND</b>	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
<b>MNDA</b>	Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs
<b>MNOC</b>	Multi-national Oil Company
<b>MOSOP</b>	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
<b>NAPIMS</b>	National Petroleum Investment Management Services
<b>NDA</b>	Niger Delta Avengers
<b>NDDB</b>	Niger Delta Development Board
<b>NDDC</b>	Niger Delta Development Commission
<b>NDPVF</b>	Niger Delta Peoples' Volunteer Force
<b>NDV</b>	Niger Delta Vigilante
<b>NNOC</b>	Nigerian National Oil Corporation
<b>NNPC</b>	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
<b>OMPADEC</b>	Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission
<b>PAP</b>	Presidential Amnesty Programme

<b>PDP</b>	Peoples' Democratic Party
<b>PIMCO</b>	Project Implementation and Monitoring Committee
<b>PTDF</b>	Petroleum Trust Development Fund
<b>SALW</b>	Small Arms and Light Weapons
<b>TCND</b>	Technical Committee on Niger Delta
<b>TETFUND</b>	Tertiary Education Trust Fund
<b>TNOC</b>	Trans-national Oil Company
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organisation



# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Oil and political violence in the oil belt region of Nigeria called the Niger Delta and the part played by the elite of the Niger Delta in the conflict are the focus of this study. The chapter gives an overview of the whole study and sets the stage for the subsequent chapters that follow. The chapter incorporates the background to the study, a statement of the problem, research questions, and the objectives, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, research method, definition of key terms, reliability and validity as well as organisation or structure of the study.

### **1.2 Background to the Study**

Oil is the most sought after natural resources in the globe by both developing and developed nations. It is strategic because is the lifeblood of modern economies and the force behind the military machine (Renner as cited in Ejibunu, 2007). Several violent conflicts experienced today in different parts of the world are traceable to this non-renewable natural resource. Ross (2004) and Humphreys (2005) considered oil to be prone to violence. For instance, Tombalbaye, former president of Chad was toppled in 1975 because of oil. Similarly, Humphreys (2005) avers that the control of oil wealth cannot be ignored in Chad's politics. It has brought and removed leaders from office and influenced the political agenda of the country. In a like manner, Johannes, Zulu, and Kalipeni (2015) argue that the inter-communal clashes between



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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Consent Form



#### Consent Form

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am a doctoral student of the School of International Studies at Universiti Utara Malaysia. I am conducting research on the topic “Oil Politics and Violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria: The Role of the Regional Elites”. The objectives of the study are: to examine the roles played by the elite in the political violence in the region; analyse the reasons for resource control and political restructuring of Nigeria by the elites of the Niger Delta; assess the effectiveness of the amnesty programme championed by the elite of the Niger Delta and to exam the level of transparency and accountability of the elite of Niger Delta in the management of the oil rent of the region.

You have been chosen as one of the participants for this study. As such, I am writing to request that you spare some of your valuable time to give me an audience. If you accept participation in this study, the researcher will conduct a face-to-face interview with you at a time and place convenient for you. The interview will be audio recorded and it will last for an hour.

Your participation in this research is voluntary and you should feel free to withdraw from the study at any stage and for whatever cause. You may also wish not to react to any questions that you are not comfy with.

There are no major risks expected from your participation in this study. Your participation may provide you with a sense of self-pride knowing that you could assist in getting a permanent resolution to the conflict in the Niger Delta. Please, also note that there will be no compensation for taking part in this study.

All data collected during the interview will be treated with extreme confidentiality. Your name or anything that identifies you will not be included in the information you provide and this information will simply be utilized for the study alone.

The researcher can be reached in Nigeria through this phone number 08068327593. If you have any question about the study before or after the interviews, you can reach the researcher via email at [babsadeosun90@gmail.com](mailto:babsadeosun90@gmail.com). You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Norafidah Ismail at [norafidah@uum.edu.my](mailto:norafidah@uum.edu.my).

Thank you.

Yours Sincerely,

Ahmed. B. Adeosun

## DECLARATION

I -----hereby confirm that I have read and understood fully the contents of this document and the nature of the study and hereby consent to participate in the study. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

Signature ----- Date.....

Researcher's Signature----- Date-----



## **Appendix A : Interview Protocol**

### **Study: Oil Politics and Violence in Niger Delta of Nigeria: The Role of the Regional Elites**

**Time of Interview:**

**Date:**

**Place:**

**Interviewer:**

**Interviewee:**

**Position of the interviewee:**

#### **Questions:**

1. How do the regional elites contribute politically to the Niger Delta conflict?

Specific question

In your opinion, how do the elites contribute to oil-related and political-cum electoral violence that have ravaged the region?

2. There have been agitation by the leaders from this region for resource control and political restructuring of the polity. Why this call and what is your take on this?

Specific questions:

- a. What is resource control?
  - b. Why are the elites agitating for resource control and political restructuring?
  - c. What is your assessment of the role of the elites in the demand for resource control and political restructuring?
3. The major stakeholders in this region through the Technical Committee on Niger Delta recommended the Amnesty Programme as a solution to the Niger



Delta conflict. What is your assessment of the programme and the role of the elites in its formulation and execution?

4. What is your take on the level of transparency and accountability of the Niger Delta elites in the management of the resource of the region?
5. Is there anything else you would like to discuss on regional elites' role in the Niger Delta crisis that you did not have an opportunity to speak about?

Thank you very much for participating in this interview and I like to assure you of the confidentiality of your responses and potential future interviews.



## **Appendix C: Ogoni Bill of Rights**

### **OGONI BILL OF RIGHTS**

PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF NIGERIA October,  
1990

WITH

AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

By

The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) December, 1991  
Published by Saros International Publishers, 24 Aggrey Road, PO Box 193, Port Harcourt,  
Nigeria for The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) June 1992

WE, the people of Ogoni (Babbe, Gokana, Ken Khana, Nyo Khana and Tai) numbering about 500,000 being a separate and distinct ethnic nationality within the Federal Republic of Nigeria, wish to draw the attention of the Governments and people of Nigeria to the undermentioned facts:

1. That the Ogoni people, before the advent of British colonialism, were not conquered or colonized by any other ethnic group in present-day Nigeria.
2. That British colonization forced us into the administrative division of Opobo from 1908 to 1947.
3. That we protested against this forced union until the Ogoni Native Authority was created in 1947 and placed under the then Rivers Province.
4. That in 1951 we were forcibly included in the Eastern Region of Nigeria where we suffered utter neglect.
5. That we protested against this neglect by voting against the party in power in the Region in 1957, and against the forced union by testimony before the Willink Commission of Inquiry into Minority Fears in 1958.
6. That this protest led to the inclusion of our nationality in Rivers State in 1967, which State consists of several ethnic nationalities with differing cultures, languages and aspirations.
7. That oil was struck and produced in commercial quantities on our land in 1958 at K. Dere (Bomu oilfield).
8. That oil has been mined on our land since 1958 to this day from the following oilfields: (i) Bomu (ii) Bodo West (iii) Tai (iv) Korokoro (v) Yorla (vi) Lubara Creek and (vii) Afam by Shell Petroleum Development Company (Nigeria) Limited.
9. That in over 30 years of oil mining, the Ogoni nationality have provided the Nigerian nation with a total revenue estimated at over 40 billion Naira (N40 billion) or 30 billion dollars.

**10.** That in return for the above contribution, the Ogoni people have received NOTHING.

**11.** That today, the Ogoni people have:

(i) No representation whatsoever in ALL institutions of the Federal Government of Nigeria;

(ii) No pipe-borne water;

(iii) No electricity;

(iv) No job opportunities for the citizens in Federal, State, public sector or private sector companies;

(v) No social or economic project of the Federal Government.

**12.** That the Ogoni languages of Gokana and Khana are underdeveloped and are about to disappear, whereas other Nigerian languages are being forced on us.

**13.** That the Ethnic policies of successive Federal and State Governments are gradually pushing the Ogoni people to slavery and possible extinction.

**14.** That the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited does not employ Ogoni people at a meaningful or any level at all, in defiance of the Federal government's regulations.

**15.** That the search for oil has caused severe land and food shortages in Ogoni one of the most densely populated areas of Africa (average: 1,500 per square mile; national average: 300 per square mile).

**16.** That neglectful environmental pollution laws and substandard inspection techniques of the Federal authorities have led to the complete degradation of the Ogoni environment, turning our homeland into an ecological disaster.

**17.** That the Ogoni people lack education, health and other social facilities.

**18.** That it is intolerable that one of the richest areas of Nigeria should wallow in abject poverty and destitution.

**19.** That successive Federal administrations have trampled on every minority right enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution to the detriment of the Ogoni and have by administrative structuring and other noxious acts transferred Ogoni wealth exclusively to other parts of the Republic.

**20.** That the Ogoni people wish to manage their own affairs.

NOW, therefore, while reaffirming our wish to remain a part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, we make demand upon the Republic as follows:

That the Ogoni people be granted POLITICAL AUTONOMY to participate in the affairs of the Republic as a distinct and separate unit by whatever name called, provided that this Autonomy guarantees the following:

- (i) Political control of Ogoni affairs by Ogoni people;
- (ii) The right to the control and use of a fair proportion of OGONI economic resources for Ogoni development;
- (iii) Adequate and direct representation as of right in all Nigerian national institutions;
- (iv) The use and development of Ogoni languages in all Nigerian territory;
- (v) The full development of Ogoni culture;
- (vi) The right to religious freedom; and
- (vii) The right to protect the OGONI environment and ecology from further degradation.

We make the above demand in the knowledge that it does not deny any other ethnic group in the Nigerian Federation of their rights and that it can only conduce to peace, justice and fairplay and hence stability and progress in the Nigerian nation.

We make the demand in the belief that, as Obafemi Awolowo has written: In a true federation, each ethnic group no matter how small, is entitled to the same treatment as any other ethnic group, no matter how large.

We demand these rights as equal members of the Nigerian Federation who contribute and have contributed to the growth of the Federation and have a right to expect full returns from that Federation.

Adopted by general acclaim of the Ogoni people on the 26th day of August, 1990 at Bori, Rivers State and signed by: (see under).

#### **ADDENDUM TO THE OGONI BILL OF RIGHTS**

We, the people of Ogoni, being a separate and distinct ethnic nationality within the Federal Republic of Nigeria, hereby state as follows:

- (a) That on October 2, 1990 we addressed an Ogoni Bill of Rights to the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida and members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council;
- (b) That after a one-year wait, the President has been unable to grant us the audience which we sought to have with him in order to discuss the legitimate demands contained in the Ogoni Bill of Rights;
- (c) That our demands as outlined in the Ogoni Bill of Rights are legitimate, just and our inalienable right and in accord with civilized values worldwide;
- (d) That the Government of the Federal Republic has continued, since October 2, 1990, to decree measures and implement policies which further marginalize the Ogoni people, denying us political autonomy, our rights to our resources, to the development of our languages and culture, to adequate representation as of right in all Nigerian national institutions and to the protection of our environment and ecology from further degradation;

(e) That we cannot sit idly by while we are, as a people, dehumanized and slowly exterminated and driven to extinction even as our rich resources are siphoned off to the exclusive comfort and improvement of other Nigerian communities, and the shareholders of multi-national oil companies.

NOW, therefore, while re-affirming our wish to remain a part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, we hereby authorize the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) to make representation, for as long as these injustices continue, to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the African Commission on Human and Peoples rights, the European Community and all international bodies which have a role to play in the preservation of our nationality, as follows:

1. That the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has, in utter disregard and contempt for human rights, since independence in 1960 till date, denied us our political rights to self-determination, economic rights to our resources, cultural rights to the development of our languages and culture, and social rights to education, health and adequate housing and to representation as of right in national institutions.
2. That, in particular, the Federal Republic of Nigeria has refused to pay us oil royalties and mining rents amounting to an estimated 20 billion US dollars for petroleum mined from our soil for over thirty-three years.
3. That the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria does not protect any of our rights whatsoever as an ethnic minority of 500,000 in a nation of about 100 million people and that the voting power and military might of the majority ethnic groups have been used remorselessly against us at every point in time.
4. That multi-national oil companies, namely Shell (Dutch/British) and Chevron (American) have severally and jointly devastated our environment and ecology, having flared gas in our villages for 33 years and caused oil spillages, blow-outs etc., and have dehumanized our people, denying them employment and those benefits which industrial organizations in Europe and America routinely contribute to their areas of operation.
5. That the Nigerian elite (bureaucratic, military, industrial and academic) have turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to these acts of dehumanization by the ethnic majority and have colluded with all the agents of destruction aimed at us.
6. That we cannot seek restitution in the courts of law in Nigeria as the act of expropriation of our rights and resources has been institutionalized in the 1979 and 1989 Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which Constitutions were acts of a Constituent Assembly imposed by a military regime and do not, in any way, protect minority rights or bear resemblance to the tacit agreement made at Nigerian independence.

7. That the Ogoni people abjure violence in their just struggle for their rights within the Federal Republic of Nigeria but will, through every lawful means, and for as long as is necessary, fight for social justice and equity for themselves and their progeny, and in particular demand political autonomy as a distinct and separate unit within the Nigerian nation with full right to (i) control Ogoni political affairs; (ii) use at least fifty per cent of Ogoni economic resources for Ogoni development; (iii) protect the Ogoni environment and ecology from further degradation; and (iv) ensure the full restitution of the harm done to the health of our people by the flaring of gas, oil spillages, oil blow-outs, etc. by the following oil companies: Shell, Chevron and their Nigerian accomplices.

8. That without the intervention of the international community the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the ethnic majority will continue these noxious policies until the Ogoni people are obliterated from the face of the earth.

Adopted by general acclaim of the Ogoni people on the 26th day of August 1991 at Bori, Rivers State of Nigeria.

Signed on behalf of the Ogoni people by:

**BABBE:**

HRH Mark Tsaro-Igbara, Gbenemene Babbe; HRH F.M.K. Noryaa, Menebua, Ka-Babbe; Chief M.A.M. Tornwe III, JP; Prince J.S. Sangha; Dr. Israel Kue; Chief A.M.N. Gua.

**GOKANA:**

HRH James P. Bagia, Gberesako XI, Gberemene Gokana; Chief E.N. Kobani, JP Tonsimene Gokana; Dr. B.N. Birabi; Chief Kemte Giadom, JP; Chief S.N. Orage.

**KEN-KHANA:**

HRH M.H.S. Eguru, Gbenemene Ken-Khane; HRH C.B.S. Nwikina, Emah III, Menebua Bom; Mr. M.C. Daanwii; Chief T.N. Nwieke; Mr. Ken Saro-wiwa; Mr. Simeon Idemyor.

**NYO-KHANA:**

HRH W.Z.P. Nzidee, Genemene Baa I of Nyo-Khana; Dr. G.B. Leton, OON, JP; Mr. Lekue Lah-Loolo; Mr. L.E. Mwara; Chief E.A. Apenu; Pastor M.P. Maeba. TAI: HRH B.A. Mballey, Gbenemene Tai; HRH G.N. Gininwa, Menebua Tua Tua; Chief J.S. Agbara; Chief D.J.K. Kumbe; Chief Fred Gwezia; HRH A. Demor-Kanni, Meneba Nonwa.



### **THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD:**

1. Prevail on the American Government to stop buying Nigerian oil. It is stolen property.
2. Prevail on Shell and Chevron to stop flaring gas in Ogoni.
3. Prevail on the Federal Government of Nigeria to honour the rights of the Ogoni people to self-determination and AUTONOMY.
4. Prevail on the Federal Government of Nigeria to pay all royalties and mining rents collected on oil mined from Ogoni since 1958.
5. Prevail on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to stop giving loans to the Federal Government of Nigeria; all loans which depend for their repayment on the exploitation of Ogoni oil resources.
6. Send urgent medical and other aid to the Ogoni people.
7. Prevail on the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth of Nations to either get the Federal Government of Nigeria to obey the rules and mores of these organisations, face sanctions or be expelled from them.
8. Prevail on European and American Governments to stop giving aid and credit to the Federal Government of Nigeria as aid and credit only go to encourage the further dehumanization of the Ogoni people.
9. Prevail on European and American Governments to grant political refugee status to all Ogoni people seeking protection from the political persecution and genocide at the hands of the Federal Government of Nigeria.
10. Prevail on Shell and Chevron to pay compensation to the Ogoni People for ruining the Ogoni environment and the health of Ogoni men, women and children.

## **Appendix D: The kaiama Declaration**

### **THE KAIAMA DECLARATION**

by

### **IJAW YOUTHS OF THE NIGER DELTA**

BEING COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE ALL IJAW YOUTHS  
CONFERENCE WHICH HELD IN THE TOWN OF KAIAMA THIS 11TH DAY OF  
DECEMBER 1998

#### **INTRODUCTION**

We, Ijaw youths drawn from over five hundred communities from over 40 clans that make up the Ijaw nation and representing 25 representative organisations met, today, in Kaiama to deliberate on the best way to ensure the continuous survival of the indigenous peoples of the Ijaw ethnic nationality of the Niger Delta within the Nigerian state.

#### **After exhaustive deliberations, the Conference observed:**

- a. That it was through British colonisation that the IJAW NATION was forcibly put under the Nigerian State
- b. That but for the economic interests of the imperialists, the Ijaw ethnic nationality would have evolved as a distinct and separate sovereign nation, enjoying undiluted political, economic, social, and cultural AUTONOMY.
- c. That the division of the Southern Protectorate into East and West in 1939 by the British marked the beginning of the balkanisation of a hitherto territorially contiguous and culturally homogeneous Ijaw people into political and administrative units, much to our disadvantage. This trend is continuing in the balkanisation of the Ijaws into six states- Ondo, Edo, Delta, Bayelsa, Rivers and Akwa Ibom States, mostly as minorities who suffer socio-political, economic, cultural and psychological deprivations.
- d. That the quality of life of Ijaw people is deteriorating as a result of utter neglect, suppression and marginalisation visited on Ijaws by the alliance of the Nigerian state and transnational oil companies.
- e. That the political crisis in Nigeria is mainly about the struggle for the control of oil mineral resources which account for over 80% of GDP, 95 %of national budget and 90% of foreign exchange earnings. From which, 65%, 75% and 70% respectively are derived from within the Ijaw nation. Despite these huge contributions, our reward from the Nigerian State remains avoidable deaths resulting from ecological devastation and military repression.

f. That the unabating damage done to our fragile natural environment and to the health of our people is due in the main to uncontrolled exploration and exploitation of crude oil and natural gas which has led to numerous oil spillages, uncontrolled gas flaring, the opening up of our forests to loggers, indiscriminate canalisation, flooding, land subsidence, coastal erosion, earth tremors etc. Oil and gas are exhaustible resources and the complete lack of concern for indiscriminate canalisation, flooding, land subsidence, coastal erosion, earth tremors etc. Oil and gas are exhaustible resources and the complete lack of concern for ecological rehabilitation, in the light of the Oloibiri experience, is a signal of impending doom for the peoples of Ijawland.

g. That the degradation of the environment of Ijawland by transnational oil companies and the Nigerian State arise mainly because Ijaw people have been robbed of their natural rights to ownership and control of their land and resources through the instrumentality of undemocratic Nigerian State legislations such as the Land Use Decree of 1978, the Petroleum Decrees of 1969 and 1991, the Lands (Title Vesting etc.) Decree No. 52 of 1993 (Osborne Land Decree), the National Inland Waterways Authority Decree No. 13 of 1997 etc.

h. That the principle of Derivation in Revenue Allocation has been consciously and systematically obliterated by successive regimes of the Nigerian state. We note the drastic reduction of the Derivation Principle from 100% (1953), 50% (1960), 45% (1970), 20% (1975) 2% (1982), 1.5% (1984) to 3% (1992 to date), and a rumoured 13% in Abacha's 1995 undemocratic and unimplemented Constitution.

i. That the violence in Ijawland and other parts of the Niger Delta area, sometimes manifesting in intra and inter-ethnic conflicts are sponsored by the State and transnational oil companies to keep the communities of the Niger Delta area divided, weak and distracted from the causes of their problems.

j. That the recent revelations of the looting of national treasury by the Abacha junta is only a reflection of an existing and continuing trend of stealing by public office holders in the Nigerian state. We remember the over 12 billion dollars Gulf war windfall, which was looted by Babangida and his cohorts We note that over 70% of the billions of dollars being looted by military rulers and their civilian collaborators is derived from our ecologically devastated Ijawland.

**Based on the foregoing, we, the youths of Ijawland, hereby make the following resolutions to be known as the Kaiama Declaration:**

1. All land and natural resources (including mineral resources) within the Ijaw territory belong to Ijaw communities and are the basis of our survival.
2. We cease to recognise all undemocratic decrees that rob our peoples/communities of the right to ownership and control of our lives and resources, which were enacted without our participation and consent. These include the Land Use Decree and The Petroleum Decree etc.

3. We demand the immediate withdrawal from Ijawland of all military forces of occupation and repression by the Nigerian State. Any oil company that employs the services of the armed forces of the Nigerian State to "protect" its operations will be viewed as an enemy of the Ijaw people. Family members of military personnel stationed in Ijawland should appeal to their people to leave the Ijaw area alone.

4 ... Ijaw youths in all the communities clans in the Niger Delta will take steps to implement these resolutions beginning from the 30<sup>th</sup> of December, 1998, as a step towards reclaiming the control of our lives. We, therefore, demand that all oil companies stop all exploration and exploitation activities in the Ijaw area. We are tired of gas flaring; oil spillages, blowouts and being labelled saboteurs and terrorists. It is a case of preparing the noose for our hanging. We reject this labelling. Hence, we advice all oil companies staff and contractors to withdraw from Ijaw territories by the 30th December, 1998 pending the resolution of the issue of resource ownership and control in the Ijaw area of the Niger Delta

5. Ijaw youths and Peoples will promote the principle of peaceful coexistence between all Ijaw communities and with our immediate neighbours, despite the provocative and divisive actions of the Nigerian State, transnational oil companies and their contractors. We offer a hand of friendship and comradeship to our neighbors: the Itsekiri, Ilaje, Urhobo, Isoko, Edo, Ibibio, Ogoni, Ekpeye, Ikwerre etc. We affirm our commitment to joint struggle with the other ethnic nationalities in the Niger delta area for self-determination.

6. We express our solidarity with all peoples organisations and ethnic nationalities in Nigeria and elsewhere who are struggling for self-determination and justice. In particular we note the struggle of the Oodua peoples Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (Mosop), Egi Women's Movement etc.

7. We extend our hand of solidarity to the Nigerian oil workers (NUPENG and PENGASSAN) and expect that they will see this struggle for freedom as a struggle for humanity

8. We reject the present transition to civil rule programme of the Abubakar regime, as it is not preceded by restructuring of the Nigerian federation. The way forward is a Sovereign National Conference of equally represented ethnic nationalities to discuss the nature of a democratic federation of Nigerian ethic nationalities. Conference noted the violence and killings that characterized the last local government elections in most parts of the Niger Delta. Conference pointed out that these electoral conflicts are a manifestation of the undemocratic and unjust nature of the military transition programme. Conference affirmed therefore, that the military are incapable of enthroning true democracy in Nigeria.

9 We call on all Ijaws to remain true to their Ijawness and to work for the total liberation of our people. You have no other true home but that which is in Ijawland.

10 We agreed to remain within Nigeria but to demand and work for Self Government and resource control for the Ijaw people. Conference approved that the best way for Nigeria is a federation of ethnic nationalities. The federation should be run on the basis equality and social justice.

**Finally, Ijaw youths resolve to set up the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) to coordinate the struggle of Ijaw peoples for self-determination and justice.**

Signed for the entire participants by:

Felix Tuodolo and Timi Kaiser-Wilhelm Ogoriba



## **Appendix E: Research Participants**

### **Interviewee 1**

Traditional Ruler, A paramount ruler from one of the towns in Yenagoa Local Government Area of the Bayelsa State. A key position holder in the Bayelsa Traditional Council and also a member of the Pan Niger Delta Elder Forum (PANDEF).

### **Interviewee 2**

Youth from Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, an environmental activist and a staunch member of the Ijaw Youth Congress, Secretary Niger Delta Wetland Centre, Yenagoa. The interviewee has participated in numerous effort to protect the environment through advocacy programme and effort to alleviate poverty in the region through empowerment programme which the centre coordinates.

### **Interviewee 3**

A youth from Amasssoma in Bayelsa State. An ex-agitator turned environmentalist and has been active in campaign for the protection of environment and peace in the region.

### **Interviewee 4**

A Community leader, Director in Bayelsa State Civil Service and Chairman of Civil Liberties Organisation. He has been involved in the security related issues in the state. He is a member of State Security Council and work with security agencies such as JTF, DSS and others to monitor and nip in the bud the activities of the militants in the state. He has written several articles on Niger Delta conflict.

### **Interviewee 5**

A Senior Advocate of Nigeria, Politician and Opinion leader, Warri, Delta. He was a member of the House of Assembly in the old Bendel State (now Edo and Delta) in the Second Republic and also Special Assistant to the Governor in the short-lived administration of Late Brigadier-General Samuel Ogbomudia in the Second Republic. A loyal member of South- South Peoples Assembly and PANDEF

### **Interviewee 6**

A Community Leader, retired Senior Military Personnel and current Commandant-General Eagle Flight Chaplain and Elder, Warri Delta State He has served in different formations in the state and the country and since retirement, he has been involved in peace advocacy and training of youth. He was former Adviser on Security Matters to Chief Felix Ibru, the former Governor of Delta State. A staunch member of South-South People Assembly and PANDEF.

### **Interviewee 7**

A Youth Leader and politician from Sagbama. He was former Speaker of the Local Government legislative branch of government and a Doctoral candidate at University of Port-Harcourt. He was Supervisory Councillor for Works in Sagbama Local Government Area. An ex- officio member of the Ijaw Youth Council, the apex youth organisation in the region.

#### Interviewee 8

A Senior Official of the largest non-governmental organisation in the region, Partnership Initiative in the Niger Delta (PIND). He has trained over 300 people from over 50 different communities across the region on preventing, mitigating and reporting elections related violence before and after elections. He has authored several articles on Niger Delta conflict and convened and presided several stakeholders engagement forum with Police, Department of State Service, Independent National Electoral Commission, Traditional rulers and youth.

#### Interviewee 9

An High Chief from Olobiri in Bayelsa State and Ellu kingdom in Delta State and also a Network Coordinator for a Civil Society Organisation that involves in peace building in the region. Former Special Adviser on Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs in Bayelsa State in the Timipre Sylva's administration.

#### Interviewee 10

An Academician, Senior Research Fellow, French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA), University of Ibadan and Research Coordinator Partnership Initiatives in the Niger Delta (PIND). An Early Warning and Research Coordinator at Chevron's Foundation for Partnership Initiatives in the Niger Delta (PIND). He has written extensively on Niger Delta conflict and was involved in the broker of peace between two ex- militants leaders, Asari Dokubo and Ateke Tom.

#### Interviewee 11

An Academician, Senior Research Fellow and Peace building Coordinator Partnership Initiatives in the Niger Delta (PIND). He was at one time Special Assistant on Youth to the erstwhile governor of Rivers State, Dr Peter Odili and member of a Steering Committee on River State amnesty programme and has been involved in training as well as advocacy for peace throughout the length and breadth of the region. He has authored several articles, organises workshop and seminars on peace building throughout the length and breadth of the region.

#### Interviewee 12

An Academician, Nigerian Police Academy, Kano and Former Head of Security Unit at Shell Nigeria Limited. He has authored and co-authored several articles on Niger Delta conflict. As an employee of Shell, he was involved in the distribution of compensation to oil producing community's security surveillance and protection of oil installations. He was an ex-agitator, who in the past has been involved in the Niger Delta struggle.



## Other Interviewees

13. Chief Edwin Clark- Leader South-South People Assembly, South-South Peoples Congress, Pan Niger Delta Elder Forum, Leader of the South-South to the 2014 National Conference, former Federal Commissioner for Information, Commissioner for Education in the old Mid-West State, Commissioner for Finance in the defunct Bendel State ( now Edo and Delta states).
14. Annkio Briggs, an environmentalist and human rights activist, founder and executive director of Agape Birthrights, a non-governmental organisation and spokesperson for both Ijaw Republican Assembly and United Niger Delta Energy Development Security Strategy. A delegate to the 2014 National Conference.
15. Ledum Mitee, an environmentalist, President of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), former Chairman of the Technical Committee on Niger Delta (TCND), Chairman of Nigerian Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, NEITI and delegate to the 2014 National Conference.
16. Lucky Ochuko Ararile, imperial majesty, the Ovie of Umiaghwa-Abraka Kingdom in Ethiope-East Local Government Area of Delta State. A retired AVM and pioneer Coordinator of the Presidential Amnesty Programme for ex-militants.
17. Joseph Evah, an Ijaw activist, coordinator of Ijaw Monitoring Group and erstwhile publicity secretary of Ijaw apex ethnic group, Ijaw National Congress and member Pan Niger Delta Elder Forum (PANDEF).
18. Asari Dokubo, an ex-militant, former president Ijaw Youth Council, an influential pressure group that seeks to influence government policies in favour of the region.; founder Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force, one of the dreaded militia groups that operated in the region.